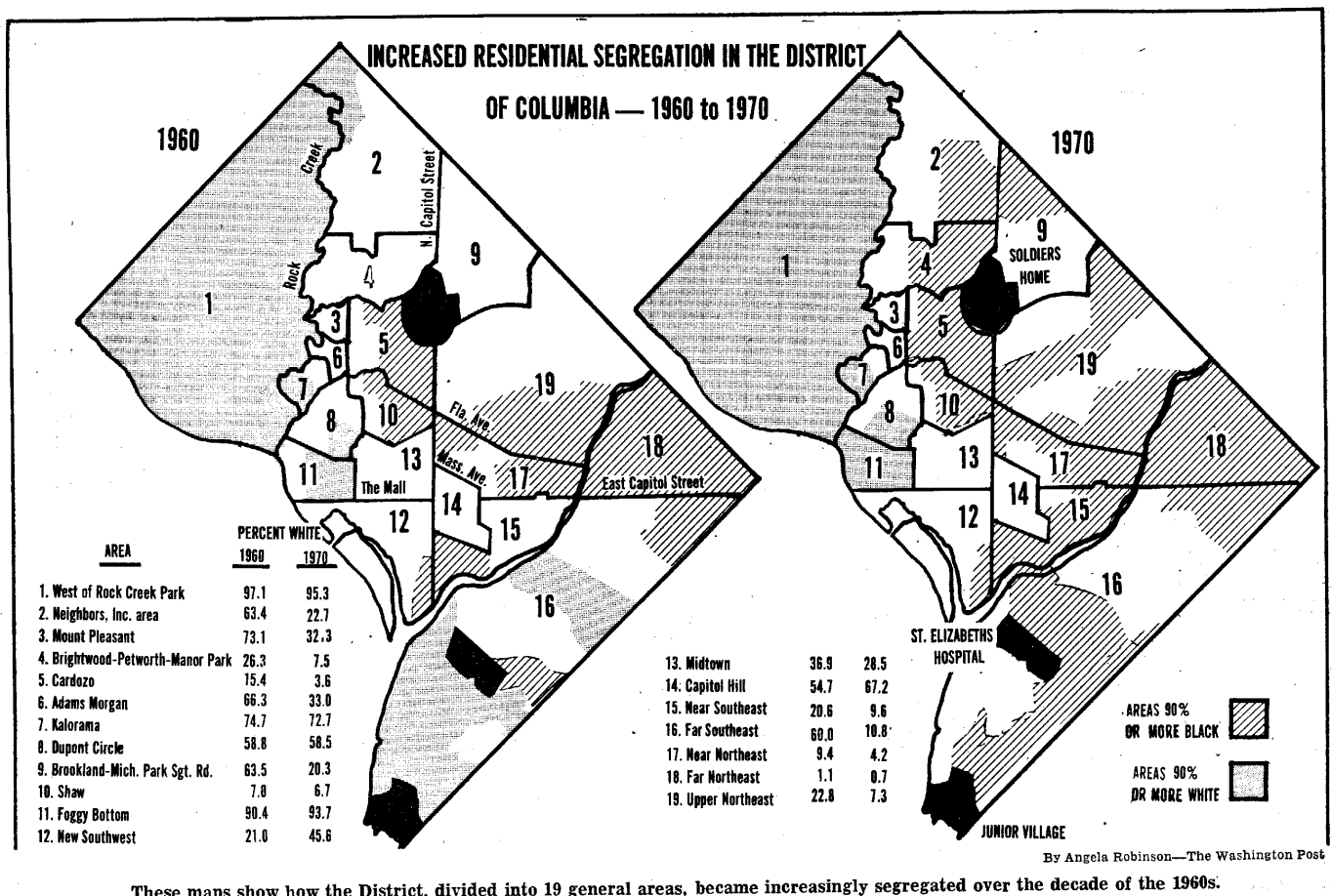


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# Segregation Increased in D.C. During 1960s

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Residential Washington, traditionally segregated by race, became even more segregated during the 1960s when civil rights activism blossomed and integration was supposed to be the watchword, an analysis of new census data shows.

Not only did parts of the city become blacker with the general influx of Negro families to the city but many of the remaining white enclaves became more tightly grouped and remote from the blacks.

city predicted in the late 1960s by some social scientists has indeed begun, but the modest numbers moving into previously black sections of Capitol Hill, Dupont Circle and New Southwest so far have barely made a statistical dent on the more general and continuing exodus of whites from the rest of the city.

While many parts of the city appeared to be drawing further apart, a few sections continued to maintain substantial proportions of both races. Dupont Circle, Adams Morgan, the Kalorama Triangle, Mount Pleasant and other neighborhoods immediately east of Rock Creek Park maintained a substantial if declining number of whites. A few areas like Capitol Hill and New Southwest actually gained in white percentages.

For its population count, the U.S. Census Bureau has divided the city into more than 100 segments or tracts. A tract-by-tract comparison of census figures for 1960 and 1970 gives some idea of the stark and dramatic changes in the decade.

• Of 121 tracts or tract combinations, 88 (72.7 per cent) showed an increase in the percentage of black population, but 30 tracts (24.8 per cent) also showed a white increase, even though the citywide white population as a whole plunged from 345,263 (45.2 per cent) in 1960 to 209,300 (27.7 per cent) in 1970. Only three tracts showed no change in racial composition.

• The number of essentially segregated tracts (90 to 99 per cent white or black) jumped from 59 in 1960 to 75 in 1970. The black tracts increased from 28 to 52. The white tracts declined from 31 to 2, with almost a third of the loss in Far Southeast.

See POPULATION, B18.

## POPULATION, FROM BI

of 15th Street NW, became even whiter in the decade, going from 90.4 per cent white to 93.7 per cent.

• New Southwest, where massive urban renewal displaced thousands of slum blacks, went from 21 per cent white in 1960 to 45.6 per cent white in 1970, with a sharp residential cleavage placing middle and high income whites in new high-rise apartments side by side with poor blacks in the remaining public and low income housing units of the area.

• The white population in Far Southeast shrank from 60 per cent to barely 10 per cent with the mass white exodus to Prince George's County in the early 1960s. Some tracts went through an almost total racial reversal, going from more than 90 per cent white to more than 90 per cent black.

• Aside from Foggy Bottom and New Southwest, only the Capitol Hill area showed a white increase, going from 54.7 per cent to 67.2 per cent, as the restoration of town houses near the Capitol has caused a gradual replacement of blacks by mostly higher income whites.

• While the Dupont Circle and Kalorama white populations held steady at around 58 and 73 per cent respectively, in most other sections of the city the white population steadily declined during the 1960s.

more segregated, with more all-black or nearly all-black tracts than in 1960 and the nearly all-white tracts drawn into a more tightly concentrated cluster west of Rock Creek Park with a handful of adjacent tracts east of the park in Foggy Bottom, Dupont Circle and Kalorama.

"Yes, there is more segregation now," said George Grier, vice president of the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, "but ironically, housing quality and options for blacks are up, too."

There are two "almost contradictory trends going on," he said. "First, there is desegregation, with blacks moving into areas where they were never allowed before, including Prince George's County," adjacent to the District's southern border.

"And second," he said, "there is increasing segregation in areas where strong racial patterns already existed" so that segregation-minded whites began moving away when blacks, in the wake of open housing and other civil rights innovations of the 1960s, began moving in.

While former white strongholds in Far Southeast, Brookland, Michigan Park, upper 16th Street NW and other sections of the city fell during the 1960s, the area west of Rock Creek Park remained basically unchanged.

Grier said the main reason for this is the relatively higher housing costs west of the park. Indeed, census figures show that apartment

rentals and real estate values increased during the 1960s at a greater rate west of the park than in formerly white areas east of the park.

At the same time, the gap between black family income and white family income widened, leaving blacks relatively poorer, according to census data.

The median rental in the 15 tracts west of the park, for example, increased 59.6 per cent from \$114 to \$182 during the decade, census figures show, and the median property value shot up 84.2 per cent from \$23,553 to \$43,386.

This compares with only a 42 per cent rental increase (\$81 to \$115) and a 43.5 per cent property value increase (\$18,116 to \$25,991) in the tracts embracing the Neighbors, Inc., area of upper 16th Street and Georgia Avenue immediately east of the park where the white population declined from 63.4 per cent to 22.7 per cent during the 1960s.

In the same period, white family median income jumped 94.2 per cent in the city while black family median income increased only 77 per cent, census figures show. By the end of the decade, median white family income was \$14,940 compared to \$8,497 for black families.

Black families thus gravitated toward the less expensive housing opened to them east of the park by the civil rights movement but continued to be financially barred from areas west of the park, said Grier.

An additional factor, he speculated, is the low turnover rate in many west-of-the-

park apartment buildings that are heavily populated by elderly widows, widowers and other single persons. Any new tenants, he says, are often referred by existing tenants and thus tend to be of a "similar background"—white and financially comfortable.

Unpublished Census Bureau data currently being analyzed by Grier's organization show, for example, that 29 per cent (14,665) of all women designated as living in single-person households in Washington are 65 years or older. Of the 14,665 total, only 3,908 (26.6 per cent) are black. The rest are white, Grier said, and most live west of the park, often in the high rise apartment buildings that line Connecticut, Wisconsin and Massachusetts Avenues.

The expansion of blacks into formerly white areas east of the park was spurred not only by the continuous immigration of rural blacks from the South but by the displacement of longtime black residents from the inner city through urban renewal, highway construction and private restoration projects, according to Grier.

"Much of the inner city has been depopulated," he said, "and the people there have had to go somewhere."

The Shaw area, almost at the geographical center of the city and the section most scarred by the 1968 riots, is typical of urban renewal depopulation. All of its census tracts show decreases ranging up to more than 30 per cent. Families have moved out of sections

# Housing Segregation Increased in District During the 1960s

designated for renewal but where new housing has not yet been built.

By contrast, in New Southwest, where urban renewal in 1950s and highway construction more recently have displaced black families, whites in expensive new housing have filled the void.

Likewise on Capitol Hill, whites are slowly replacing blacks, but through private, piecemeal home restoration.

Private restoration has also begun on a modest scale in black areas between Dupont Circle and 15th Street NW. This, plus the

gravitation of hippies and other "street people" to that area in the late 1960s, has helped keep its racial composition at a fairly steady black-white ratio in recent years, Grier said.

By the same token, the influx of Latin American families in the Kalorama and Columbia Road NW area has helped to stabilize the racial balance there, he said. The white exodus from the city has been steady and uninterrupted since the end of World War II when the entire population was more than 70 per cent white. It is

now less than 27 per cent white.

Some social scientists say they are now beginning to see a return of whites to a number of cities in the nation, including Washington. This is spurred in part by speculative investments in the inner city and in part by some white disillusionment with suburban living, they say.

Annual population estimates by the District government show little if any slowdown in net white out-migration in recent years, including 1971.

But, said Grier, "I think

the city has just about hit bottom or will hit bottom soon as far as the white exodus is concerned... Most of the whites with school-age kids have left. The white population is now mostly the young childless singles and couples or the old folks whose children have grown up and left."

The only "new attrition of whites," he said, "would be among these people... I think they've chosen to live in the city because they like it, and there's no sign that they're finding it unpleasant."